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# NARRATIVES

OF A LATE

# EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE

# *INDIANS*;

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the BARBAROUS EXECUTION of Col. CRAWFORD;

AND

The WONDERFUL ESCAPE of Dr. *Knight* and *John Slover* from CAPTIVITY, in 1782.

*PHILADELPHIA:*

Printed by FRANCIS BAILEY, in Market Street.

M,DCC,LXXXIII.

1783

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## To the PUBLIC.

The two following narratives were tranſmitted for publication in September laſt, but ſhortly afterwards the letter from ſir Guy Carleton to his excellency general Waſhington, informing that the ſavages had received orders to deſiſt from their incurſions, gave reaſon to hope that there would be an end to their barbarities. For this reaſon it was not thought neceſſary to hold up to view what they had heretofore done. But as they ſtill continue their murders on our frontiers, theſe narratives may be ſervicable to induce our governments to take ſome effectual ſteps to chaſtiſe and repreſs them; as from hence they will ſee that the nature of an Indian is fierce and cruel, and that an extirpation of them would be uſeful to the world, and honourable to thoſe who can effect it.

Mr. BAILEY,

Encloſed are two narratives; one of Dr. Knight, who acted as ſurgeon in the expedition under col. Crawford; the other of John Slover: That of Dr. Knight was written by himſelf at my requeſt; that of Slover was taken down by myſelf from his mouth as he related it. The man from his early and long captivity, amongſt the Indians, though perfectly ſenſible and intelligent, yet cannot write. The character of Dr. Knight is well known to to be that of a good man, of great veracity, of a calm and deliberate mind, and uſing no exaggeration in his account of any matter. As a teſtimony in favour of the veracity of Slover, I thought proper to procure a certificate from the clergyman to whoſe church he belongs, and which is as follows:

"I DO hereby certify that John Slover has been for many years a regular member of the church under my care, and is worthy of the higheſt credit.

WILLIAM RENO."

Theſe narratives you will pleaſe to publiſh in your uſeful paper or in any other way you may judge proper. I conceive the publication of them may anſwer a good end in ſhowing America, what have been the ſufferings of ſome of her citizens by the hands of the Indian allies of Britain. To theſe narratives I have ſubjoined ſome obſervations which you may publiſh or omit as it may be convenient.

H. BRACKENRIDGE.

Pittſburgh, Aug. 3, 1782.

# Dr. KNIGHT's Narrative.

ABOUT the latter end of the month of March or the beginning of April, of the preſent year, the weſtern Indians began to make incurſions upon the frontiers of Ohio, Waſhington, Youghagany, and Weſtmoreland counties, which has been their conſtant practice ever ſince the commencement of the preſent war between the United States and Great Britain.

In conſequence of theſe predatory invaſions the principal officers of the abovementioned counties, namely, colonels Williamſon and Marſhall, tried every method in their power to ſet on foot an expedition againſt the Wyandot towns, which they could effect no other way than by giving all poſſible encouragement to volunteers. The plan propoſed was as follows: Every man furniſhing himſelf with a horſe, a gun, and one months proviſion, ſhould be exempted from two tours of militia duty. Likewiſe, that every one who had been plundered by the Indians, ſhould, if the plunder could be found at their towns, have it again, proving it to be his property: and all horſes loſt on the expedition by unavoidable accident were to be replaced by horſes taken in the enemy's country.

The time appointed for the rendezvous, or general meeting of the volunteers, was fixed to be on the 20th of May, and the place, the old Mingoe town on the weſt ſide of the river Ohio, about forty miles below Fort Pitt by land, and I think about 75 by water.

Col. Crawford was ſolicited by the general voice of theſe weſtern counties and diſtricts to command the expedition. He accordingly ſet out as a volunteer and came to Fort Pitt two days before the time appointed for the aſſembling of the men. As there was no ſurgeon yet appointed to go with the expedition, colonel Crawford begged the favour of gen. Irvine to permit me toaccom pany him, (my conſent having been previouſly

ouſly aſked) to which the general agreed provided col. Gibſon did not object.

Having obtained permiſſion of the colonel I left Fort Pitt on Tueſday, May 1ſt, and the next day about one in the afternoon arrived at the Mingoe bottom. The volunteers had not all croſſed the river until Friday morning the 24th, they then diſtributed themſelves into eighteen companies, chooſing their captains by vote. There were choſen, alſo, one col commandant, four field and one brigade major. There were four hundred and ſixty five who voted.

We began our march on Saturday May 25th, making almoſt a due weſt courſe, and on the fourth day reached the old Moravian town, upon the river Muſkingum about 60 miles from the river Ohio. Some of the men having loſt their horſes on the night preceding, return ed home.

Tueſday the 28th in the evening, major Brenton and captain Bean went ſome diſtance from camp to reconnoitre: having gone about one quarter of a mile they ſaw two indians, upon whom they fired, and then returned to camp. This was the firſt place in which we were diſcovered, as we underſtood afterwards.

On Thurſday the fourth of June, which was the eleventh day of our march, about one o'clock we came to the ſpot where the town of Sanduſky formerly ſtood: the inhabitants had moved 18 miles lower down the creek, nearer the lower Sanduſky; but as neither our guides or any who were with us, had known any thing of their removal, we began to conjecture there were no Indian towns nearer than the lower Sanduſky, which was at leaſt 40 miles diſtant.

However, after refreſhing our horſes we advanced on in ſearch of ſome of their ſettlements, but had ſcarcely got the diſtance of three or four miles from the old town when a number of our men expreſſed their deſire to return, ſome of them alledging that they had only five days proviſion; upon which the field officers and captains, determined, in council, to proceed that afternoon and no longer. Previous to the calling of this council, a ſmall party of light horſe had been ſent forward to reconnoitre.

I ſhall here remark, by the way, that there are a great

great many extenſive plains in that country: The woods in general grow very thin, and free from bruſh and underwood; ſo that light horſemen may advance a conſiderable diſtance before an army without being much expoſed to the enemy.

Juſt as the council ended, an expreſs returned from the above mentioned party of light horſe with intelligence, "that they had been about three miles in front, and had ſeen a large body of Indians running towards them."—In a ſhort time we ſaw the reſt of the light horſe, who joined us, and having gone one mile further met a number of Indians who had partly got poſſeſſion of a piece of woods before us, whilſt we were in the plains, but our men alighting from their horſes and ruſhing into the woods ſoon obliged them to abandon that place.

The enemy being by this time reinforced flanked to the right, and part of them coming in our rear quickly made the action more ſerious. The firing continued very warm on both ſides from four o'clock until the duſk of the evening, each party maintaining their ground. Next morning about ſix o'clock ſome guns were diſcharged at the diſtance of two or three hundred yards, which continued till day, doing little or no execution on either ſide.

The field officers then aſſembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increaſing and we had already a number wounded, to retreat that night. The whole body was to form into three lines, keeping the wounded in the center. We had four killed and twenty three wounded, of the latter, ſeven very dangerouſly, on which account as many biers were got ready to carry them: moſt of the reſt were ſlightly wounded and none ſo bad but they could ride on horſeback. After dark the officers went on the out poſts and brought in all the men as expeditiouſly as they could. Juſt as the troops were about to form ſeveral guns were fired by the enemy, upon which ſome of our men ſpoke out and ſaid, our intention was diſcovered by the Indians who were firing alarm guns. Upon which ſome in front hurried off and the reſt immediately followed, leaving the ſeven men that were dangerouſly wounded, ſome of whom however got off on horſeback, by means of ſome

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good friends, who waited for, and aſſiſted them.

We had not got a quarter of a mile from the field of action when I heard col. Crawford calling for his ſon John Crawford, his ſon in law major Harriſon, major Roſe and William Crawford, his nephews, upon which I came up and told him I believed they were before us—He aſked, was that the doctor?—I told him it was—he then replied, they were not in front, and begged of me not to leave him—I promiſed him I would not.

We then waited, and continued calling for theſe men till the troops had paſſed us. The colonel told me his horſe had almoſt given out, that he could not keep up with the troops, and wiſhed ſome of his beſt friends to remain with him: he then exclaimed againſt the militia for riding off in ſuch an irregular manner, and leaving ſome of the wounded behind, contrary to his orders. Preſently there came two men riding after us, one of them an old man, the other a lad: we enquired if they had ſeen any of the above perſons? they anſwered they had not.

By this time there was a very hot firing before us, and, as we judged, near where our main body muſt have been. Our courſe was then nearly ſouth-weſt, but changing it, we went north about two miles, the two men remaining in company with us. Judging ourſelves to be now out of the enemy's lines, we took a due eaſt courſe, taking care to keep at the diſtance of fifteen or twenty yards apart, and directing ourſelves by the north ſtar.

The old man often lagged behind and when this was the caſe never failed to call for us to halt for him. When we were near the Sanduſky Creek he fell one hundred yards behind, and bawled out, as uſual, for us to halt. While we were preparing to reprimand him for making a noiſe, I heard an Indian halloo, as I thought one hundred and fifty yards from the man and partly behind him; after this we did not hear the man call again neither did he ever come up to us any more. It was now paſt midnight, and about day break col. Crawford's and the young man's horſes gave out, and they left them. We purſued our journey eaſtward, and about two o'clock fell in with

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capt. Biggs who had carried lieut. Aſhley from the field of action, who had been dangerouſly wounded. We then went on about the ſpace of an hour, when a heavy rain coming on we concluded it was beſt to encamp, as we were encumbered with the wounded officer. We then barked four or five trees, made an encampment and a fire and remained there all that night. Next morning we again proſecuted our journey, and having gone about three miles found a deer which had been recently killed. The meat was ſliced from the bones and bundled up in the ſkin with a tomahawk lying by it. We carried all with us and in advancing about one mile further eſpyed the ſmoke of a fire. We then gave the wounded officer into the charge of the young man, deſiring him to ſtay behind whilſt the colonel, the captain, and myſelf, walked up as cautiouſly as we could toward the fire. When we came to it, we concluded from ſeveral circumſtances ſome of our people had encamped there the preceding night. We then went about roaſting the veniſon, and when juſt about to march obſerved one of our men coming upon our tracks. He ſeemed at firſt very ſhy, but having called to him he came up and told us he was the perſon who had killed the deer, but upon hearing us come up, was afraid of Indians, hid it in a thicket and made off. Upon this we gave him ſome bread and roaſted veniſon, proceeded altogether on our journey and about two o'clock came upon the paths by which we had gone out. Capt. Biggs and myſelf did not think it ſafe to keep the road, but the colonel ſaid the Indians would not follow the troops farther than the plains, which we were then conſiderably paſt. As the wounded officer rode capt. Biggs' horſe I lent the captain mine; the colonel and myſelf went about one hundred yards in front, the captain and the wounded officer in the center, and the two young men behind. After we had travelled about one mile and a half, ſeveral Indians ſtarted up within fifteen or twenty ſteps of the colonel and me. As we at firſt diſcovered only three I immediately got behind a large black-oak, made ready my piece and raiſed it up to take ſight, when the colonel called to me twice not to fire; upon that one of

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the Indians ran up to the colonel and took him by the hand. The colonel then told me to put down my gun, which I did. At that inſtant one of them came up to me whom I had formerly ſeen very often, called me doctor and took me by the hand. They were Delaware Indians of the Wingenim tribe. Captain Biggs fired amongſt them but did no execution. They then told us, to call theſe people and make them come there, elſe they would go and kill them, which the colonel did, but they four got off and eſcaped for that time. The colonel and I were then taken to the Indian camp, which was about half a mile from the place where we were captivated. On Sunday evening five Delawares who had poſted themſelves at ſome diſtance further on the road brought back to the camp, where we lay, captain Biggs' and lieutenant Aſhley's ſcalps, with an Indian ſcalp which captain Bigg's had taken in the field of action: they alſo brought in Biggs' horſe and mine, they told us the two other men got away from them.

Monday morning the tenth of June we were paraded to march to Sanduſky, about 33 miles diſtant: they had eleven priſoners of us and four ſcalps, the Indians being ſeventeen in number.

Col. Crawford was very deſirous to ſee a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the ſame night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the ſame time to paſs by the place where the col. had turned out his horſe, that they might if poſſible, find him. The reſt of us were taken as far as the old town which was within eight miles of the new.

Tueſday morning the 11th, col. Crawford was brought out to us on purpoſe to be marched in with the other priſoners. I aſked the colonel if he had ſeen Mr. Girty?—He told me he had, and that Girty had promiſed to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged againſt the priſoners; particularly captain Pipe one of the chiefs: he likewiſe told me that Girty had informed him that his ſon in law col. Harriſon and his nephew William Crawford, were made priſoners by the Shawaneſe, but had been pardoned. This capt. Pipe had come from the towns

about an hour before col. Crawford, and had painted all the priſoners faces black.

As he was painting me he told me I ſhould go to the Shawaneſe towns and ſee my friends. When the colonel arrived he painted him black alſo, told him he was glad to ſee him, and that he would have him ſhaved when he came to ſee his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched the col. and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs, the other nine priſoners were ſent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we ſaw four of the priſoners lying by the path tomahaked and ſcalped ſome of them were at the diſtance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the colonel was executed, we overtook the five priſoners that remained alive: the Indians had cauſed them to ſit down on the ground, as they did alſo the colonel and me at ſome diſtance from them I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawaneſe towns.

In the place where we were now made to ſit down there was a number of ſquaws and boys who fell on the five priſoners and tomahawk'd them. There was a certain John M'Kinly amongſt the priſonners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whoſe head on old ſquaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young indian fellows came often where the colonel and I were, and daſhed the ſcalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the colonel was afterwards executed: when we came within about half a mile of it Simon Girty met us, with ſeveral Indians on horſeback: he ſpoke to the colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind could not hear what paſſed between them.

Almoſt every Indian we met ſtruck us either with ſticks or their fiſts. Girty waited till I was brought up and aſked, was that the doctor?—I told him, yes, and went toward him reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone and called me a damn'd raſcal, upon which the fellow who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawaneſe towns.

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When we were come to the fire the colonel was ſtripped naked, ordered to ſit down by the fire and then they beat him with ſticks and their fiſts. Preſently after I was treated in the ſame manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a poſt about fifteen feet high, bound the colonel's hands behind his back and faſtened the rope to the ligature between his wriſts. The rope was long enough either for him to ſit down or walk round the poſt once or twice and return the ſame way. The colonel then called to Girty and aſked if they intended to burn him?—Girty anſwered, yes. The colonel ſaid he would take it all patiently. Upon this capt. Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a ſpeech to the Indians, viz. about thirty or forty men, ſixty or ſeventy ſquaws and boys.

When the ſpeech was finiſhed they all yelled a hideous and hearty aſſent to what had been ſaid. The Indian men then took up their guns and ſhot powder into the colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not leſs than ſeventy loads were diſcharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the beſt of my obſervation, cut off his ears: when the throng had diſperſed a little I ſaw the blood running from both ſides of his head in conſequence thereof.

The fire was about ſix or ſeven yards from the poſt to which the colonel was tied: it was made of ſmall hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about ſix feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of theſe burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. Theſe tormentors preſented themſelves on every ſide of him, ſo that which ever way he ran round the poſt they met him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the ſquaws took broad boards upon which they would put a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, ſo that in a ſhort time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot aſhes to walk upon.

In the midſt of theſe extreme tortures he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to ſhoot him: but Girty making no anſwer he called to him again. Girty then, by way of deriſion, told the colonel he had no gun, at

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the ſame time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his geſtures ſeemed delighted at the horrid ſcene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He ſaid, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawaneſe towns. He ſwore by G—d I need not expect to eſcape death, but ſhould ſuffer it in all its extremities.

He then obſerved that ſome priſoners had given him to underſtand that if our people had him they would not hurt him: for his part, he ſaid, he did not believe it, but deſired to know my opinion of the matter; but being at that time in great anguiſh and diſtreſs for the torments the colonel was ſuffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the ſame fate in two days, I made little or no anſwer. He expreſſed a great deal of ill will for col. Gibſon, and ſaid he was one of his greateſt enemies, and more to the ſame purpoſe, to all which I paid very little attention.

Col. Crawford at this period of his ſufferings beſought the Almighty to have mercy on his ſoul, ſpoke very low, and bore his torments with the moſt manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at laſt being almoſt ſpent, he lay down on his belly: they then ſcalped him and repeatedly threw the ſcalp in my face, telling me "that was my great captain."—An old ſquaw (whoſe appearance every way anſwered the ideas people entertain of the Devil) got a board, took a parcel of coals and aſhes and laid them on his back and head after he had been ſcalped: he then raiſed himſelf upon his feet and began to walk round the poſt: they next put a burning ſtick to him as uſual, but he ſeemed more inſenſible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge now took me away to capt. Pipes' houſe, about three quarters of a mile from the place of the colonel's execution. I was bound all night and thus, prevented from ſeeing the laſt of the horrid ſpectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we ſet off for the Shawaneſe town, which he told me was ſomewhat leſs than forty miles from that place. We

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ſoon came to the ſpot where the colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way; I ſaw his bones laying amongſt the remains of the fire, almoſt burnt to aſhes, I ſuppoſe after he was dead they had laid his body on the fire.

The Indian told me, that was my Big Captain and gave the ſcalp halloo. He was on horſeback and drove me before him.

I pretended to this Indian I was ignorant of the death I was to die at the Shawaneſe town, affected as chearful a countinance as poſſible and aſked him if we were not to live together as brothers in one houſe when we ſhould get to the town?—He ſeemed well pleaſed, and ſaid, yes. He then aſked me if I could make a wigwam?—I told him, I could—he then ſeemed more friendly —we went that day as near as I can judge about 25 miles, the courſe partly ſouthweſt—The Indian told me we ſhould next day come to the town the ſun being in ſuch a direction, pointing nearly ſouth. At night when we went to reſt I attempted very often to unty myſelf but the Indian was extremely vigilant and ſcarce ever ſhut his eyes that night. About day break he got up and untied me: he next began to mend up the fire and as the gnats were troubleſome I aſked him if I ſhould make a ſmoke behind him?—he ſaid, yes. I then took the end of a dogwood fork which had been burnt down to about 18 inches long: it was the longeſt ſtick I could find, yet too ſmall for the purpoſe I had in view: then I picked up another ſmaller ſtick and taking a coal of fire between them went behind him: then turning ſuddenly about, I ſtruck him on the head with all the force I was maſter of; which ſo ſtunned him that he fell forwards with both his hands into the fire, but ſeeing him recover and get up, I ſiezed his gun while he ran off howling in a moſt fearful manner—I followed him with a determination to ſhoot him down, but pulling back the cock of the gun with too great violence I believe I broke the main ſpring. I purſued him, however, about thirty yards ſtill endeavouring to fire the gun, but could not; then going back to the fire I took his blanket, a pair of new mokkiſons, his hoppes, powder horn, bullet bag, (together with the gun) and marched off, directing my courſe toward the five o'clock mark; about half an hour

hour before ſunſet I came to the plains which I think are about ſixteen miles wide. I laid me down in a thicket till dark and then by the aſſiſtance of the north ſtar made my way through them and got into the woods before morning. I proceeded on the next day and about noon croſſed the paths by which our troops had gone out: theſe paths are nearly eaſt and weſt but I went due north all that afternoon with a view to avoid the enemy.

In the evening I began to be very faint, and no wonder; I had been ſix days priſoner; the laſt two days of which I had eat nothing and but very little the firſt three or four: there were wild gooſberries in abundance in the woods, but being unripe required maſtication, which at that time I was not able to perform on account of a blow received from an Indian on the jaw with the back of a tomahawk: there was a weed that grew plentifully in that place, the juice of which I knew to be grateful and nouriſhing; I gathered a bundle of the ſame, took up my lodging under a large ſpreading beech tree and having ſucked plentifully of the juice, went to ſleep. Next day I made a due eaſt courſe which I generally kept the reſt of my journey. I often imagined my gun was only wood bound and tried every method I could deviſe to unſcrew the lock but never could effect it having no knife nor any thing fitting for the purpoſe; I had now the ſatisfaction to find my jaw began to mend and in four or five days could chew any vegetable proper for nouriſhment, but finding my gun only a uſeleſs burden left her in the wilderneſs. I had no apparatus for making fire to ſleep by ſo that I could get but little reſt for the gnats and muſketoes; there are likewiſe a great many ſwamps in the beach ridge which occaſioned me very often to lie wet: this ridge through which I travelled is about 20 miles broad, the ground in general very level and rich, free from ſhrubs and bruſh: there are, however, very few ſprings, yet wells might eaſily be dug in all parts of that ridge; the timber on it is very lofty, but it is no eaſy matter to make a ſtraight courſe through the ſame, the moſs growing as high upon the ſouth ſide of the trees as on the north. There are a great many white oaks, aſh and hickory trees that grow among the beach timber; there

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are likewiſe ſome places on the ridge, perhaps for three or four continued miles where there is little or no beech, and in ſuch ſpots, black, white oak, aſh and hickory abound. Sugar trees grow there alſo to a very great bulk: the ſoil is remarkably good, the ground a little aſcending and deſending with ſome ſmall rivulets and a few ſprings. When I got out of the beech ridge and nearer the river Muſkingum the lands were more broken but equally rich with thoſe before mentioned, and abounding with brooks and ſprings of water: there are alſo ſeveral ſmall creeks that empty into that river, the bed of which is more than a mile wide in many places: the woods conſiſt of white and black oaks, walnut, hickory and ſugar tree in the greateſt abundance. In all parts of the country through which I came the game was very plenty, that is to ſay, deer, turkies and pheaſants, I likewiſe ſaw a great many veſtiges of bears and ſome elks.

I croſſed the river Muſkingum about three or four miles below Fort Laurence, and croſſing all paths aimed for the Ohio river. All this time my food was gooſeberries, young nettles, the juice of herbs, a few ſervice berries, and ſome May apples, likewiſe, two young blackbirds and a turripine, which I devoured raw. When my food ſat heavy on my ſtomach, I uſed to eat a little wild ginger which put all to rights.

I came upon Ohio river about five miles below fort M'Intoſh, in the evening of the 21ſt day after I had made my eſcape, and on the twenty ſecond, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, being the fourth day of July, arrived ſafe, though very much fatigued, at the fort.

# A Short MEMOIR of the within mentioned Col. CRAWFORD.

COL. CRAWFORD, was about 50 years of age, had been an old warrior againſt the ſavages. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf early as a volunteer in the laſt war, and was taken notice of by colonel (now general) Waſhington, who procured for him the commiſſion of enſign. As a partiſan he ſhowed himſelf very active, and was greatly ſucceſsful: He took ſeveral Indian towns, and did great ſervice in ſcouting, patrolling and defending the frontiers. At the commencement of this war he raiſed a regiment in the back country by his own exertions: He had the commiſſion of colonel in the continental army, and acted bravely on ſeveral occaſions in the years 1776, 1777, and at other times. He held his commiſſion at the time he took command of the militia, in the aforeſaid expedition againſt the Indians; moſt probably he had it with him when he was taken: He was a man of good judgment, ſingular good nature, and great humanity, and remarkable for his hoſpitality; few ſtrangers coming to the weſtern country, and not ſpending ſome days at the croſſings of the Yochaghany river where he lived; no man therefore could be more regretted.

# The NARRATIVE of JOHN SLOVER.

HAVING in the laſt war been a priſoner amongſt the Indians many years, and ſo being well acquainted with the country weſt of the Ohio I was employed as a guide in the expedition under col. William Crawford againſt the Indian towns on or near the river Sanduſky. It will be unneceſſary for me to relate what is ſo well known, the circumſtances and unfortunate event of that expedition; it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that having on Tueſday the fourth of June fought the enemy near Sanduſky, we lay that night in our camp, and the next day fired on each other at the diſtance of three hundred yards, doing little or no execution. In the evening of that day it was propoſed by col. Crawford, as I have been ſince informed, to draw off with order; but at the moment of our retreat the Indians (who had probably perceived that we were about to retire) firing alarm guns, our men broke and rode off in confuſion, treading down thoſe who were on foot, and leaving the wounded men who ſupplicated to be taken with them.

I was with ſome others on the rear of our troops feeding our horſes in the glade, when our men began to break: The main body of our people had paſſed by me a conſiderable diſtance before I was ready to ſet out. I overtook them before they croſſed the glade, and was advanced almoſt in front. The company in which I was had ſeparated from me, and had endeavoured to paſs a moraſs; for coming up I found their horſes had ſtuck faſt in the moraſs, and endeavouring to paſs, mine alſo in a ſhort time ſtuck faſt; I ought to have ſaid, the company of five or ſix men with which I had been immediately connected, and who were ſome diſtance to the right of the main body, had ſeparated from me, &c. I try'd a long time to diſengage my horſe, until I could hear the enemy juſt behind me and on each ſide, but in vain. Here then I was obliged to leave him. The moraſs was ſo unſtable that I was to the middle in it,

and it was with the greateſt difficulty that I got acroſs it but which having at length done, I came up with the ſix men who had left their horſes in the ſame manner I had done; two of theſe, my companions, having loſt their guns.

We travelled that night making our courſe towards Detroit, with a view to ſhun the enemy, who we conceived to have taken the paths by which the main body of our people had retreated. Juſt before day we got into a ſecond deep moraſs, and were under the neceſſity of detaining until it was light to ſee our way through it. The whole of this day we travelled toward the Shawaneſe towns, with a view of throwing ourſelves ſtill farther out of the ſearch of the enemy. About ten o'clock this day we ſat down to eat a little, having taſted nothing from Tueſday, the day of our engagement, until this time which was on Thurſday; and now the only thing we had to eat was a ſcrap of pork to each. We had ſat down juſt by a warrior's path which we had not ſuſpected, when eight or nine warriors appeared. Running off haſtily we left our baggage and proviſions, but were not diſcovered by the party; for ſkulking ſome time in the graſs and buſhes, we returned to the place and recovered our baggage. The warriors had hallooed as they paſſed, and were anſwered by others on our flanks.

In our journey through the glades, or wide extended dry meadows, about twelve o'clock this day we diſcovered a party of Indians in front, but ſkulking in the graſs and buſhes were not perceived by them. In theſe glades we were in great danger, as we could be ſeen at a great diſtance. In the afternoon of this day there fell a heavy rain, the coldeſt I ever felt. We halted while it rained, and then travelling on we ſaw a party of the enemy about two hundred yards before us, but hiding ourſelves in the buſhes, we had again the good fortune not to be diſcovered. This night we got out of the glades, having in the night croſſed the paths by which we had advanced to Sanduſky. It was our deſign to leave all theſe paths to the right, and to come in by the Tuſcarawas. We ſhould have made a much greater progreſs, had it not been for two of our companions

who

who were lame; the one having his foot burnt, the other with a ſwelling in his knee of a rheumatic nature.

On this day, which was the ſecond after the retreat, one of our company, the perſon affected with the rheumatic ſwelling, was left behind ſome diſtance in a ſwamp. Waiting for him ſome time we ſaw him coming within one hundred yards, as I ſat on the body of an old tree mending my mokkiſins, but taking my eye from him I ſaw him no more. He had not obſerved our tracks, but had gone a different way. We whiſtled on our chargers, and afterwards hallooed for him, but in vain. Nevertheleſs he was fortunate in miſſing us, for he afterwards came ſafe into Wheeling *. We travelled on until night, and were on the waters of Muſkingum from the middle of this day.

Having catched a fawn this day we made a fire in the evening, and had a repaſt, having in the mean time eat nothing but the ſmall bit of pork I mentioned before. We ſet off at break of day. About nine o'clock the third day we fell in with a party of the enemy about twenty miles from the Tuſcarawas, which is about 135 miles from fort Pitt. They had come upon our tracks, or had been on our flanks, and diſcovered us, and then having got before had way laid us, and fired before we perceived them. At the firſt fire one of my companions fell before me, and another juſt behind; theſe two had guns: there were ſix men in company, and four guns, two of theſe rendered uſeleſs by reaſon of the wet, when coming through the ſwamp the firſt night; we had tryed to diſcharge them, but could not When the indians fired I ran to a tree, but an Indian preſenting himſelf fifteen yards before me, deſired me to deliver myſelf up and I ſhould not be hurt: My gun was in good order, but apprehending the enemy behind might diſcharge their pieces at me, I did not riſk firing, which I had afterwards reaſon to regret, when I found what was to be my fate, and that the Indian who was before me and preſented his gun, was one of thoſe who had juſt before fired. Two of my companions were taken with

* This is a poſt of ours on the Ohio, about 70 miles below Fort Pitt.

with me in the ſame manner, the Indians aſſuring us we ſhould not be hurt. But one in company, James Paul, who had a gun in order made his eſcape, and has ſince come into Wheeling. One of theſe Indians knew me, and was of the party by whom I was taken in the laſt war. He came up and ſpoke to me calling me by my Indian name, Mannuchcothee, and upbraiding me for coming to war againſt them. I will take a moment here to relate ſome particulars of my firſt captivity, and my life ſince.

I was taken from New River in Virginia by the Miameſe, a nation of Indians by us called the Picts, amongſt whom I lived ſix years; afterwards being ſold to a Delaware, and by him put into the hands of a trader, I was carried amongſt the Shawaneſe, with whom I continued ſix years: ſo that my whole time amongſt theſe nations was twelve years, that is, from the eighth to the twentieth year of my age. At the treaty at Fort Pitt in the fall preceding what is called Dunmore's war, which, if I am right was in the year 1773, I came in with the Shawaneſe nation to the treaty, and meeting with ſome of my relations at that place was by them ſollicited to relinquiſh the life of a ſavage, which I did with ſome reluctance, this manner of life having become natural to me, inaſmuch as I had ſcarcely known any other. I enliſted as a ſoldier in the continental army at the commencement of the preſent war, and ſerved fifteen months. Having been properly diſcharged I have ſince married, have a family, and am in communion with the church.

To return: The party by whom we were made priſoners had taken ſome horſes, and left them at the glades we had paſſed the day before. They had followed on our tracts from theſe glades; on our return to which we found the horſes and rode. We were carried to Wachatomakak, a town of the Mingoes and Shawaneſe. I think it was on the third day we reached the town, which when we were approaching, the Indians, in whoſe cuſtody we were, began to look ſour, having been kind to us before, and given us a little meat and flour to eat, which they had found or taken from ſome of our men on their retreat. This

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town is ſmall, and we were told was about two miles diſtant from the main town to which they meant to carry us.

The inhabitants from this town came out with clubs and tomhawks, ſtruck beat and abuſed us greatly. One of my two companions they ſeized, and having ſtripped him naked blacked him with coal and water: This was the ſign of being burnt; the man ſeemed to ſurmiſe it, and ſhed tears. He aſked me the meaning of his being blacked; but I was forbid by the enemy in their own language to tell him what was intended. In Engliſh which they ſpoke eaſily, having been often at Fort Pitt, they aſſured him he was not to be hurt. I know of no reaſon for making him the firſt object of their cruelty, unleſs it was that he was the oldeſt.

A warrior had been ſent to the greater town to acquaint them with our coming, and prepare them for the frolic; for on our coming to it, the inhabitants came out with guns, clubs and tomhawks. We were told that we had to run to the council houſe, about three hundred yards. The man that was blacked was about twenty yards before us, in running the gauntlet: They made him their principal object, men, women and children beating him, and thoſe who had guns firing loads of powder on him as he ran naked, putting the muzzles of the guns to his body, ſhouting, hallooing and beating their drums in the mean time.

The unhappy man had reached the door of the council houſe, beat and wounded in a manner ſhocking to the ſight; for having arrived before him we had it in our power to view the ſpectacle: it was indeed the moſt horrid that can be conceived: they had cut him with their tomhawks, ſhot his body black, burnt it into holes with loads of powder blown into him; a large wadding had made a wound in his ſhoulder whence the blood guſhed.

Agreeable to the declaration of the enemy when he firſt ſet out he had reaſon to think himſelf ſecure when he had reached the door of the council houſe. This ſeemed to be his hope, for coming up with great ſtruggling and endeavour, he laid hold of the door but was pulled

pulled back and drawn away by them; finding they intended no mercy, but putting him to death he attempted ſeveral times to ſnatch or lay hold of ſome of their tomhawks, but being weak could not effect it. We ſaw him borne off and they were a long time beating, wounding, purſuing and killing him.

That ſame evening I ſaw the dead body of this man cloſe by the council houſe. It was mangled cruelly and the blood mingled with the powder was rendered black. The ſame evening I ſaw him, after he had been cut into pieces and his limbs and his head about two hundred yards on the outſide of the town put on poles. That evening alſo I ſaw the bodies of three others in the ſame black and mangled condition: theſe I was told had been put to death the ſame day and juſt before we had recahed the town. Their bodies as they lay were black, bloody, burnt with powder; two of theſe were Harriſon * and young Crawford †. I knew the viſage of col. Harriſon, and I ſaw his cloathing and that of young Crawford, at the town. They brought horſes to me and aſked if I knew them?—I ſaid they were Harriſons and Crawfords. They ſaid they were.

The third of theſe men I did not know, but believe to have been col. M,Cleland, the third in command on the expedition.

The

* This was col. Harriſon, ſon in law to col. Crawford one of the firſt men in the weſtern country: he had been greatly active on many occaſions in deviſing meaſure for the defence of the frontiers, and his character as a citizen in every way, tho' a young man, diſtinguiſhed and reſpectable. He had been a magiſtrate under the juriſdiction of Virginia, and I believe a delegate to the aſſembly of that ſtate. I knew no man with whoſe grave, ſedate manners, prudent conduct, good ſenſe and public ſpirit on all occaſions I was more pleaſed H. B.

† This was a ſon to col. Crawford. I do not remember to have ſeen him, nor was I acquainted with his character before the expedition, but have ſince been informed univerſally that he was a young man greatly and deſervedly eſteemed as a ſoldier and as a citizen.

H. B.

The next day the bodies of theſe men were dragged to the outſide of the town, and their carcaſes being given to the dogs, their limbs and heads were ſtuck on poles.

My ſurviving companion ſhortly after we had reached the council houſe was ſent to another town, and I preſume he was burnt or executed in the ſame manner.

In the evening the men aſſembled in the council houſe: this is a large building about fifty yards in length and about twenty five yards wide; and about ſixteen feet in height, built of ſplit poles covered with bark: their firſt object was to examine me, which they could do in their own language, inaſmuch as I could ſpeak the Miame, Shawaneſe and Delaware languages, which I had learned during my early captivity in the laſt war: I found I had not forgotten theſe languages, eſpecially the two former, as well as my native tongue.

They began with interrogating me concerning the ſituation of our country, what were our proviſions? our numbers? the ſtate of the war between us and Britain? I informed them Cornwallis had been taken, which next day, when Matthew Elliot * with James Girty * came, he affirmed to be a lie, and the Indians ſeemed to give full credit to his declaration.

Hitherto I had been treated with ſome appearance of kindneſs, but now the enemy began to alter their behaviour towards me. Girty had informed them, that when he aſked me how I liked to live there, I had ſaid that I intended to take the firſt opportunity to take a ſcalp and run off. It was, to be ſure, very probable that if I had ſuch intention, I would communicate it to him. Another man came to me and told me a ſtory of his having lived on the ſouth branch of Potowmac in Virginia, and having three brothers there, he pretended he wanted to get away, but I ſuſpected his deſign;

** Theſe men, Elliot and Girty, were inhabitants of the weſtern country and ſince the commencement of the war, having for ſome time profeſſed an attachment to America, went off to the Indians. They are of that horrid brood called Refugees, and whom the Devil has long ſince marked for his own property.

ſign; nevertheleſs he reported that I had conſented to go. In the mean time I was not tyed, and could have eſcaped, but having nothing to put on my feet, I waited ſome time longer to provide for this.

I was invited every night to the war dances, which they uſually continued until almoſt day. I could not comply with their deſire, believing theſe things to be the ſervice of the devil.

The council laſted fifteen days; from fifty to one hundred warriors being uſually in council, and ſometimes more. Every warrior is admitted to theſe councils; but only the chiefs or head warriors have the privilege of ſpeaking. The head warriors are accounted ſuch from the number of ſcalps and priſoners they have taken.

The third day M'Kee * was in council, and afterwards was generally preſent. He ſpoke little, and did not aſk any queſtions or ſpeak to me at all. He lives about two miles out of the town, has a houſe built of ſquared logs with a ſhingled roof; he was dreſſed in gold laced cloths I had ſeen him at the former town through which I paſſed.

I think it was on the laſt day of the council, ſave one, that a ſpeech came from Detroit, brought by a warrior who had been counſelling with the commanding officer at that place. The ſpeech had been long expected, and was in anſwer to one ſometime before ſent from the town to Detroit: It was in a belt of Wampum, and began with addreſſing them, "My children," and enquiring why they continued to take priſoners? "Proviſions are ſcarce; when priſoners are brought in we are obliged to maintain them, and ſtill ſome of them are running away, and carrying tidings of our affairs. When any of your people fall into the hands of the rebels they ſhow no mercy: why then ſhould you take priſoners? Take no more priſoners, my children, of any ſort; man, woman or child."

Two

* This man before the war was an Indian agent for the Britiſh. He was put on parole, broke it, went to the Indians and has ſince continued violently to incite them to make war againſt us.

Two days after a party of every nation that was near being collected, it was determined on to take no more priſoners of any ſort. They had held a large council, and the determination was, that if it were poſſible they could find a child of a ſpan or three inches long, they would ſhow no mercy to it. At the concluſion of the council it was agreed upon by all the tribes preſent, viz: the Tawaws, Chiappawaws, the Wiondots, the Mingoes, the Delawares, the Shawaneſe, the Munſes, and a part of the Cherokees, that ſhould any of the nations who were not preſent take any priſoner, theſe would riſe againſt them, take away the priſoners and put them to death.

In the courſe of theſe deliberations I underſtood what was ſaid perfectly. They laid plans againſt our ſettlements of Kentucky, the Falls, and towards Wheeling. Theſe it will be unneceſſary for me to mention in this narrative, more eſpecially as the Indians finding me to have eſcaped, and knowing that I would not fail to communicate theſe deſigns, will be led to alter their reſolutions.

There was one council held at which I was not preſent: The warriors had ſent for me as uſual, but the ſquaw with whom I lived would not ſuffer me to go, but hid me under a large quantity of ſkins. It may have been from an unwillingneſs that I ſhould hear in council the determination with reſpect to me, that I ſhould be burnt.

About this time twelve men were brought in from Kentucky, three of whom were burnt on this day; the remainder were diſtributed to other towns, and all, as the Indians informed me, were burnt. This was after the ſpeech came from Detroit.

On this day alſo I ſaw an Indian who had juſt come into town, and who ſaid that the priſoner he was bringing to be burnt, and who he ſaid was a doctor, had made his eſcape from him. I knew this muſt have been Dr. Knight, who went as ſurgeon of the expedition. The Indian had a wound four inches long in his head, which he acknowledged the doctor had given him: he was cut to the ſcull. His ſtory was, that he had untied the doctor, being aſked by him to do ſo, the doctor promiſing that he would not go away; that while



he

he was employed in kindling the fire, the doctor ſnatched up the gun, had come behind and ſtruck him; that he then made a ſtroke at the doctor with his knife, which he laid hold of, and his fingers were cut almoſt off, the knife being drawn through his hand; that he gave the doctor two ſtabs, one in the belly, the other in the back; ſaid the doctor was a great, big, tall, ſtrong man. Being now adopted in an Indian family, and having ſome confidence for my ſafety, I took the liberty to contradict this, and ſaid that I knew the doctor, who was a weak, little man. The other warriors laughed immoderately, and did not ſeem to credit him*. At this time I was told that col. Crawford was burnt, and they greatly exulted over it.

The day after the council I have mentioned, about forty warriors accompanied by George Girty came early in the morning round the houſe where I was. The ſquaw gave me up; I was ſitting before the door of the houſe; they put a rope round my neck, tyed my arms behind my back, ſtripped me naked, and blacked me in the uſual manner. George Girty as ſoon as I was tyed, damned me, and ſaid that I now ſhould get what I had deſerved many years. I was led away to a town diſtant about five miles, to which a meſſenger had been diſpatched to deſire them to prepare to receive me: Arriving at this town I was beaten with clubs and the pipe ends of their tomhawks, and was kept for ſome time tied to a tree before a houſe door. In the mean while the inhabitants ſet out to another town about two miles diſtant, where I was to be burnt, and where I arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Here alſo was a council houſe, part of it covered and part of it without a roof. In the part of it where no cover was, but only ſides built up, there ſtood a poſt about ſixteen feet in height, and in the middle of the houſe around the poſt, there were three piles of wood built about three feet high and four feet from the poſt.

Being

* It is well known that Mr. Slover mentioned theſe circumſtances at his firſt coming into Wheeling, and before he could have known tne relation of the doctor, ſo that this is an evidence of the truth of the doctor's account, and of his own. H. B.

Being brought to the poſt my arms were tyed behind me, and the thong or cord with which they were bound was faſtened to the poſt; a rope alſo was put about my neck, and tyed to the poſt about four feet above my head. During the time they were tying me, piles of wood were kindled and began to flame.

Death by burning, which appeared to be now my fate, I had reſolved to ſuſtain with patience. The divine grace of God had made it leſs alarming to me; for on my way this day I had been greatly exerciſed in regard to my latter end. I knew myſelf to have been a regular member of the church, and to have ſought repentance for my ſins; but though I had often heard of the faith of aſſurance, had known nothing of it; but early this day, inſtantaneouſly by a change wrought upon me, ſudden and perceivable as lightning, an aſſurance of my peace made with God, ſprung up in my mind. The following words were the ſubject of my meditation—" In peace thou ſhalt ſee God. Fear not thoſe who can kill the body. In peace ſhalt thou depart." I was on this occaſion by a confidence in mind. not to be reſiſted, fully aſſured of my ſalvation: This being the caſe, I was willing, ſatisfied, and glad to die.

I was tyed to the poſt, as I have already ſaid, and the flame was now kindled. The day was clear, not a cloud to be ſeen; if there were clouds low in the horiſon, the ſides of the houſe prevented me from ſeeing them, but I heard no thunder, or obſerved any ſign of approaching rain. Juſt as the fire of one pile began to blaze, the wind roſe; from the time they began to kindle the fire and to tie me to the poſt, until the wind began to blow, was about fifteen minutes. The wind blew a hurricane, and the rain followed in leſs than three minutes. The rain fell violent; and the fire, though it began to blaze conſiderably, was inſtantly extinguiſhed. The rain laſted about a quarter of an hour.

When it was over the ſavages ſtood amazed, and were a long time ſilent. At laſt one ſaid, We will let him alone till morning, and take a whole days frolic in burning him. The ſun at this time was about three hours high. It was agreed upon, and the rope about my neck was untied, and making me ſit down, they

began

began to dance around me. They continued dancing in this manner until eleven o'clock at night; in the mean time, beating, kicking, and wounding me with their tomhawks and clubs †.

At laſt one of the warriors, the Half Moon, aſked me if I was ſleepy? I anſwered, Yes. The head warrior then choſe out three men to take care of me. I was taken to a block houſe; my arms were tied until the cord was hid in the fleſh; they were tied in two places, round the wriſt and above the elbows. A rope was faſtened about my neck, and tied to a beam of the houſe, but permitting me to lie down on a board. The three warriors were conſtantly harraſſing and troubling me, ſaying, "How will you like to eat fire to morrow—you will kill no more Indians now." I was in expectation of their going to ſleep; when at length, about an hour before day break, two laid down; the third ſmoked a pipe, talked to me, and aſked the ſame painful queſtions. About half an hour after he alſo laid down, and I heard him begin to ſnore. Inſtantly I went to work, and as my arms were perfectly dead with the cord, I laid myſelf down upon my right arm which was behind my back, and keeping it faſt with my fingers, which had ſtill ſome life and ſtrength, I ſlipped the cord from my left arm over my elbow and my wriſt. One of the warriors now got up and ſtirred the fire: I was apprehenſive that I ſhould be examined, and thought it was over with me; but my hopes revived when now he lay down again. I then attempted to unlooſe the rope about my neck, tryed to gnaw it but in vain, as it was as thick as my thumb and as hard as iron, being made of a buffaloe hide: I wrought with it a long time, gave it out, and could ſee no relief. At this time I ſaw day break and heard the cock crow: I made a ſecond attempt almoſt without hope, pulling the rope by putting my fingers between my neck and it, and to my

† I obſerved marks on the man when I ſaw him, which was eight or ten days after he came in, particularly a wound above his right eye brow, which he had received with the pipe end of a tomhawk; but his back and body generally had been injured. H. B.

my great ſurpriſe it came eaſily untyed: it was a nooſe with two or three knots tyed over it.

I ſtept over the warriors as they lay, and having got out of the houſe looked back to ſee if there was any diſturbance; I then ran through the town into a corn field; in my way I ſaw a ſquaw with four or five children lying aſleep under a tree: going a different way into the field I untyed my arm which was greatly ſwelled and turned black: having obſerved a number of horſes in the glade as I ran through it, I went back to catch one, and on my way found a piece of an old rug or quilt hanging on a fence which I took with me: having caught the horſe, the rope with which I had been tyed ſerving for a halter, I rode off: the horſe was ſtrong and ſwift, and the woods being open and the country level, about ten o'clock that day I croſſed the Siota river at a place by computation fifty full miles from the town. I had rode about twenty five miles on this ſide Siota by three o'clock in the afternoon, when the horſe began to fail and could no longer go on a trot. I inſtantly left him and on foot ran about twenty miles farther that day, making in the whole the diſtance of near one hundred miles, In the evening I heard hallooing behind me and for this reaſon did not halt until about ten o'clock at night, when I ſat down, was extremely ſick and vomited; but when the moon roſe which might have been about two hours after, I went on and travelled until day.

During the night I had a path, but in the morning judged it prudent to forſake the path and take a ridge for the diſtance of fifteen miles, in a line at right angles to my courſe, putting back as I went along with a ſtick the weeds which I had bended, leſt I ſhould be track'd by the enemy. I lay the next night on the waters of Muſkingum: the nettles had been troubleſome to me after my croſſing the Siota, having nothing to defend myſelf but the piece of a rug which I had found, and which while I rode I uſed under me by way of ſaddle; the briars and thorns were now painful to and prevented me from travelling in the night until the moon appeared: In the mean time I was hindred from ſleeping by the muſketoes, for even in the day I was under the neceſſity of travelling with a handful of buſhes to bruſh them from my body.

The

The ſecond night I reached Cuſhakim; next day came to Newcomer's town, where I got about ſeven raſberries, which were the firſt thing I ate from the morning in which the Indians had taken me to burn me until this time, which was now about three o'clock the fourth day. I felt hunger very little, but was extremely weak; I ſwam Muſkingum river at Oldcomers town, the river being about two hundred yards wide; having reached the bank I ſat down, looked back and thought I had a ſtart of the indians if any ſhould purſue. That evening I travelled about five miles, next day came to Stillwater a ſmall river, in a branch of which I got two ſmall craſiſh to eat: Next night I lay within five miles of Wheeling, but had not ſlept a wink during this whole time, being rendered impoſſible by the muſketoes, which it was my conſtant employment to bruſh away. Next day came to Wheeling and ſaw a man on the iſland in the Ohio oppoſite to that poſt, and calling to him and aſking for particular perſons who had been on the expedition, and telling him I was Slover, at length, with great difficulty, he was perſuaded to come over and bring me acroſs in his canoe *.

* It has been ſaid, that the putting to death the Moravian Indians has been the cauſe of the cruelties practiſed on the priſoners taken at Sanduſky. But though this has been made an excuſe by the refugees amongſt the ſavages, and by the Britiſh, yet it muſt be well known, that it has been the cuſtom of the ſavages at all times. I have it from colonel John Campbell, who is lately from Chamblee, where he has been in confinement a long time, and was taken on the Ohio ſome years ago, that two men who were taken with him were put to death at the Shawneſe towns in the ſame manner in which Harriſon was afterwards executed, viz. by blowing powder into their bodies. A large load blowed into the body of one of theſe men, reached his kidneys; the pain throwing him into rage and madneſs, the ſavages were uncommonly diverted with the violence of his exclamation and geſtures; boys of the town particularly following him, and conſidering it as excellent ſport. In the evening his head was cut off, and an end put to his miſery. Col. Campbell himſelf was led

led out to make ſport of the ſame kind, but was ſaved, by the interpoſition, I think, of Elliot.

At the ſame time, though I would ſtrike away this excuſe which is urged for the ſavages, I am far from approving the Moravian ſlaughter. Doubtleſs the exiſtence of that body of people in our neighbourhood, was of diſadvantage, as they were under the neceſſity of receiving and refreſhing the Sanduſky ſavages as they came to war, and as they returned; and as no doubt ſome amongſt them communicated intelligence of any expedition on foot againſt the enemy. I am alſo diſpoſed to believe, that the greater part of the men put to death were warriors; this appears from the teſtimony of one againſt another, from the confeſſion of many, from their ſinging the war ſong when ordered out to be tomhawked, from the cut and painting of their hair, and from other circumſtances. The greater part of the Moravian men who were really peaceable or well affected to us, having been carried off the fall before, and ſtill detained at Sanduſky. But the putting to death the women and children, who ſang hymns at their execution, muſt be conſidered as unjuſtifiable inexcuſable homicide; and that the colonel who commanded the party, and who is ſaid perſeveringly, contrary to the remonſtrances of officers preſent, to have enjoined the perpetration of the act, has not yet been called to an account, is a diſgrace to the ſtate of Pennſylvania.

H. Brackenridge.

Mr. BAILEY,

WITH the narrative encloſed, I ſubjoin ſome obſervations with regard to the animals, vulgarly called Indians. It is not my intention to write any laboured eſſay; for at ſo great a diſtance from the city, and ſo long unaccuſtomed to write, I have ſcarcely reſolution to put pen to paper. Having an opportunity to know ſomething of the character of this race of men, from the deeds they perpetrate daily around me, I think proper to ſay ſomething on the ſubject; indeed ſeveral years ago, and before I left your city, I had thought different from ſome others with reſpect to the right of ſoil, and the propriety of forming treaties and making peace with them. In the United States Magazine, in the year 1779, I publiſhed a diſſertation denying them to have a right to the ſoil: I perceive a writer in your very elegant and uſeful paper, has taken up the ſame ſubject, under the ſignature of Caractacus, and unanſwerably ſhown, that their claim to the extenſive countries of America, is wild and inadmiſſible: I will take the liberty in this place, to purſue this ſubject a little.

On what is their claim founded?—Occupancy. A wild Indian with his ſkin painted red, and a feather through his noſe, has ſet his foot on the broad continent of North and South America: a ſecond wild Indian with his ears cut in ringlets, or his noſe ſlit like a ſwine or a malefactor, alſo ſets his foot on the ſame extenſive tract of ſoil: Let the firſt Indian make a talk to his brother, and bid him take his foot off the continent, for he being firſt upon it, had occupied the whole, to kill buffaloes, and tall elks with long horns. This claim, in the reaſoning of ſome men would be juſt, and the ſecond ſavage ought to depart in his canoe, and ſeek a continent where no prior occupant claimed the ſoil Is this claim of occupancy of a very early date? When Noah's three ſons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, went out to the three quarters of the old world, Ham to Africa, Shem to Aſia, and Japhet to Europe, did each claim a quarter of the world for his reſidence? Suppoſe Ham to have ſpent his time fiſhing or gathering oyſters in the Red Sea, never once ſtretching his leg in a long walk to ſee his vaſt dominions, from the mouth of the Nile, acroſs the mountains of Ethiopia and the river Niger

to

to the cape of Good Hope, where the Hottentotts, a cleanly people, now ſtray; or ſuppoſing him, like a Scots pedlar, to have travelled over many thouſand leagues of that country; would this give him a right to the ſoil?—In the opinion of ſome men it would eſtabliſh an excluſive right. Let a man in more modern times take a journey or voyage like Patrick Kennedy and others, to the heads of the Miſſiſippi or Miſſouri rivers, would he gain a right ever after to exclude all perſons from drinking the water of theſe ſtreams? Might not a ſecond Adam make a talk to them and ſay, is the whole of this water neceſſary to allay your thirſt, and may not I alſo drink of it?

The whole of this earth was given to man, and all deſcendents of Adam have a right to ſhare it equally. There is no right of primogeniture in the laws of nature and of nations. There is reaſon that a tall man, ſuch as the chaplain in the American army we call the High Prieſt, ſhould have a larger ſpot of ground to ſtretch himſelf upon; or that a man with a big belly, like a goodly alderman of London, ſhould have a larger garden to produce beans and cabbage for his appetite, but that an agile, nimble runner, like an Indian called the Big Cat, at Fort Pitt, ſhould have more than his neighbours becauſe he has traverſed a greater ſpace, I can ſee no reaſon.

I have converſed with ſome perſons and found their miſtakes on this ſubject, to ariſe from a view of claims by individuals in a ſtate of ſociety, ſome holding a greater proportion of the ſoil than others; but this is according to the laws to which they have conſented; an individual holding one acre, cannot encroach on him who has a thouſand, becauſe he is bound by the law which ſecures property in this unequal manner. This is the municipal law of the ſtate under which he lives. The member of a diſtant ſociety is not excluded by the laws from a right to the ſoil: He claims under the general law of nature, which gives a right, equally to all, to ſo much of the ſoil as is neceſſary for ſubſiſtance. Should a German from the cloſely peopled country of the Rhine, come into Pennſylvania, more thinly peopled, he would be juſtifiable in demanding a ſettlement, though his perſonal force would not be ſufficient

to effect it. It may be ſaid that the cultivation or melioration of the earth, gives a property in it. No—if an individual has ingroſſed more than is neceſſary to produce grain for him to live upon, his uſeleſs gardens, fields and pleaſure walks, may be ſeized upon by the perſon who not finding convenient ground elſewhere, chooſes to till them for his ſupport.

It is a uſual way of deſtroying an opinion, by purſuing it to its conſequence. In the preſent caſe we may ſay, that if the viſiting one acre of ground could give a right to it, the viſiting a milion would give a right on the ſame principle; and thus a few ſurly ill natured men, might in the earlier ages, have excluded half the human race from a ſettlement, or ſhould any have fixed themſelves on territory, viſited before they had ſet a foot upon it, they muſt be conſidered as invaders of the rights of others.

It is ſaid that an individual, building a houſe or fabricating a machine has an excluſive right to it, and why not thoſe who improve the earth? I would ſay, ſhould a man build houſes on a greater part of the ſoil than falls to his ſhare, I would, in a ſtate of nature, take away a proportion of the ſoil and the houſes from him, but a machine or any work of art, does not leſſen the means of ſubſiſtence to the human race, which an extenſive occupation of the ſoil does.

Claims founded on the firſt diſcovery of ſoil are futile. When gold, jewels, manufactures, or any work of men's hands is loſt, the finder is intitled to ſome reward, that is, he has ſome claim on the thing found, for a ſhare of it.

When by induſtry or the exerciſe of genius, ſomething unuſual is invented in medicine or in other matters, the author doubtleſs has a claim to an excluſive profit by it, but who will ſay the ſoil is loſt, or that any one can found a claim by diſcovering it. The earth with its woods and rivers ſtill exiſts, and the only advantage I would allow to any individual for having caſt his eye firſt on any particular part of it, is the privilege of making the firſt choice of ſituation. I would think the man a fool and unjuſt, who would exclude me from drinking the waters of the Miſſiſippi river, becauſe he had firſt ſeen it. He would be equally ſo who, would

exclude

exclude me from ſettling in the country weſt of the Ohio becauſe in chaſing a buffaloe, he had been firſt over it.

The idea of an excluſive right to the ſoil in the natives had its origin in the policy of the firſt diſcoverers, the kings of Europe. Should they deny the right of the natives from their firſt treading on the continent, they would take away the right of diſcovery in themſelves, by ſailing on the coaſt. As the veſtige of the mokkiſon in one caſe gave a right, ſo the cruize in the other was the foundation of a claim.

Thoſe who under theſe kings, derived grants, were led to countenance the idea, for otherwiſe why ſhould kings grant or they hold extenſive tracts of country.

Men become enſlaved to an opinion that has been long entertained. Hence it is that many wiſe and good men will talk of the right of ſavages to immenſe tracts of oil.

What uſe do theſe ring ſtreaked, ſpotted and ſpeckled cattle make of the ſoil? Do they till it? Revelation ſaid to man, "Thou ſhalt till the ground." This alone is human life. It is favourable to population, to ſcience, to the information of a human mind in the worſhip of a God. Warburton has well ſaid, that before you can make an Indian a chriſtian you muſt teach him agriculture and reduce him to a civilized life. To live by tilling is *more humano*, by hunting is *more beſtiarum*. I would as ſoon admit a right in the buffaloe to grant lands, as in Killbuck, the Big Cat, the Big Dog, or any of the ragged wretches that are called chiefs and ſachems. What would you think of going to a big lick, or place where the beaſts collect to lick the ſaline and nitrous earth and water, and addreſſing yourſelf to a great buffaloe to grant you land? It is true he could not make the mark of the ſtone or the mountain in his deed; but he could ſet his cloven foot to the paper like the great Ottoman, the father of the Turks, who when he put his ſignature to an inſtrument, dipt his hand and ſpreading fingers in the ink and laid them on the parchment. To ſee how far the folly of mankind would go, I had once a thought of ſupplicating one of theſe great elkes or buffaloes that run to the weſtward, to make me a grant of a hundred thouſand acres: I could

prove

prove he had bruſhed the weeds with his tail, and run fifty miles. I wonder if Congreſs or the different ſtates would recognize the claim. I am ſo far from thinking the Indians have right to the ſoil, that not having made a better uſe of it for many hundred years, I conceive they have forfeited all pretence to claim, and ought to be driven from it.

With regard to forming treaties or making peace with this race, theſe are my ideas:—They have the ſhapes of men and may be of the human ſpecies, but certainly in their preſent ſtate they approach nearer the character of Devils: take an Indian; is there any faith in him? Can you bind him by favours? Can you truſt his word or confide in his promiſe? When he makes war upon you, when he takes you priſoner and has you in his power will he ſpare you? In this he departs from the law of nature, by which, according to baron Monteſquieu and every other man who thinks on the ſubject, it is unjuſtifiable to take away the life of him who ſubmits; the conqueror in doing otherwiſe becomes a murderer, who ought to be put to death. On this principle are not the whole Indian nations murderers? Many of them may have not had an opportunity of putting priſoners to death, but the ſentiment which they entertain leads them invariably to do this when they have it in their power or judge it expedient: theſe principles conſtitute them murderers, and they ought to be prevented from carrying them into execution, as we would prevent a common hommicide, who ſhould be mad enough to conceive himſelf juſtifiable in killing men.

The tortures which they exerciſe on the bodies of their priſoners, juſtify extirmination. Gelo of Syracuſe made war on the Carthaginians, becauſe they offered up human victims, and made peace with them on condition they would ceaſe from this unnatural and cruel ſuperſtition. If we could have any faith in the ſavages, I would ſuffer them to live, provided they would no longer make war amongſt themſelves, or againſt others, by lurking privately on the path ways of the wood, and putting unarmed and defenceleſs inhabitants to death, or attacking women and children in the frontier families, and on their ceaſing in the mean to exerciſe torture.

I do

I do not know but I ought to recal my word and ſay, that even reforming from theſe practices, they ought not to live: Theſe nations are ſo degenerate from the life of man, ſo devoid of every ſentiment of generoſity, ſo prone to every vicious exceſs of paſſion, ſo faithleſs, and ſo incapable of all civilization, that it is dangerous to the good order of the world that they ſhould exiſt in it. Why was it that a ſtream of fire was ſent to burn up Sodom and Gomorrah, or ſome years before a deluge of water to waſh the old world, but that the evil example of wicked men and horrid deeds might be ſtruck from the knowledge and memory of the world? Why was it that the Canaanites were ſentenced to extirpation, but becauſe their rites and practices rendered them unfit to live. With what zeal did that good man Samuel hew Agag in pieces? With the ſame zeal ought every whig in America to hew the Big Pipe, or the Big Rattleſnake, or any of theſe, yclept by whatever name, wherever he can find them. It may be ſaid the Iſraelites had an order from the Lord to put to death the Canaanites. I think when we ſee men by their practice murderers, by every ſentiment and principle of heart carried out to ſhed blood privately; it is a ſufficient order to exterminate the whole brood. As the Seceder ſaid of Satan, what will you make of them, my beloved, but ill, vile, evil devils?

There have been inſtances of ſeveral of theſe creatures that have been taken young from the woods, and put to public ſchools in America; I do not know one who has even by theſe means been rendered a uſeful member of ſociety: They retain the temper of their race. I knew one of theſe, a certain John Montour, who had been educated at one of the northern ſeminaries, taught Greek and Latin, and in this war dignified by Congreſs with a commiſſion of captain. No greater ſavage ever exiſted. He had murdered ſeveral of his own people, and being obliged to avoid the reſentment of their relations, had fled from one place to another, and at laſt joined our arms at Fort Pitt. I ſaw this man with the bloody ſcalp of an Indian in his hand, which he had juſt taken off, having firſt tomhawked the creature, though ſubmitting and praying for his life. The Indian had been for ſome time a priſoner with us, on

ſuſpicion

ſuſpicion of having acted againſt us, but having always profeſſed himſelf a friend, and not being yet convicted of any murder, it was ruthful in his fellow ſavage to put him to death. I am well perſuaded, that for a keg of whiſkey you might induce any Indian to murder his wife, child, or beſt friend. I am informed, that the experiment was actually made by a trader. An Indian for a quart of whiſky, in one of the weſtern towns cut the throat of his own child.

This being the character of theſe men, ſhall we not wiſh to diſpoſſeſs them of the goodly lands, ſprings and rivers to the weſtward, which they have ſo long made a ſcene of horror by their practices. At the termination of the preſent war, when they are no longer aſſiſted by our enemies, it will be eaſy to drive them beyond the lakes: Inſtead of forming treaties, and ſending any other talk to them, and prophaning ourſelves by calling them brothers, I would ſimply let them know that they are no longer to ſhow themſelves below the heads of the great rivers that fall from the weſtward into the Ohio and Miſſiſippi waters: After ſome period they may be reduced to more diſtant bounds, until driven to the cold ſnows of the north weſt, where darkneſs reigns ſix months in the year, if the continent extends ſo far, their practices ſhall be obſcured, and the tribes gradually aboliſhed.

H. BRACKENRIGE.

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